1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Te usale, te usale, te usalu	The weak (one, "softy"), the weak, the weak,
Te wewei, te wewei, te wewei,	The lazy man, the lazy, the lazy,
Tuku ioa ki te vanaega	Given (out his name) in the report (of the guard)
Puke atu enaena pe te poi*	Overtaken (by laziness) squashy like pudding,
E hoa yinga wua ia.	Flops down completely.

Fishing

General Features

Information on fish and Pukapukan fishing methods was obtained mainly from Veti and Eliu. It has been supplemented by general observation of some of the fishing techniques described. The material is not only interesting to the student of comparative Polynesian fishing methods, but it also gives an insight into the amount of control exercised by the Pukapukan fisherman over part of his environment. This control is much more complete than the following information suggests, because the actual amount of information collected represents a mere surface-scratching of the knowledge possessed by native fishermen. Two other limitations, imposed by lack of time and by comparative ignorance of the field worker in all that concerns fishing, conspired to prevent the collection of complete data on Pukapukan fishing. The classifications adopted in the following sections are those used by informants in presenting the material. Identifications of native fish names are given elsewhere (pp. 27-31).

The waters within and without the reef are used equally in fishing. The inner waters of the lagoon are combed over and over again each day by all the methods of lagoon fishing. Deep-sea fishing outside the reef is indulged in at least twice a week, depending on the amount of other work to do, the state of the sea, the winds and the weather, and the season of the year. Deep-sea fishing is relatively poor from November to March. In former days the amount of lagoon and outside reef fishing a man did depended also on the village to which he belonged. The division of reefs and lagoon among the three villages and the exclusive control exerted over these properties meant that the men of Ngake and Yato could fish more extensively than the men of Loto.

The habits and movements of all the fish were studied and correlated with the rising and setting of certain named stars (p. 350). All parts of the reef, inside and outside, as well as the lagoon deeps and shallows, are well known in terms of fish habits. Names for sections of the reef and for the parts of the ocean immediately outside the reef are given in figure 3.

*The change are markers, hence the use of the Tahitian pisi for pig (first song) and poi for pudding (second song).

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226 The Pukapukan fisherman never does random fishing (*yi iko*). If asked where he is going, he replies, "Ka wano an yi kaloma, yi kakai, yele pala..." (I am going to fish *kaloma*, to fish *kakai*, to noose *pala*...); he is always going to fish specific fish. If the particular fish is caught in more than one place, he usually tells where he is going to fish. It is rare for a fisherman to return from an expedition with conglomerate varieties of fish. He usually brings home fish of a few related varieties that were all caught by the method he proposed when he first set out.

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FIGURE 3.—Cross section of reef rim: 1, land, *wenua*; 2, lagoon, *ale*; 3, inner side of reef shelf, *tauniuwa*; 4, reef shelf, *alwala akau*, the reef circuit being termed *ayanga*; 5, surface water, *hilitai*; 6, sub-surface water, *wenii*, 3 to 10 fathoms deep; 7, deep water, *pumpungutu*; 8, lower, outer reef shelf, *papa o te akau*; 9, greatest depth of water, *yele-engengutu* (also called *nenu*); 10, ocean floor, *papa o te moana*.

226 Men are customarily the fishermen, but women do beach angling, groping, shell fishing, and assist in torch fishing inside the lagoon. Turtle, *kakai*, *alwala*, *atu*, and *pala* fish were formerly always taken to the meeting place (*malae*) of the old men's group (*tupale*) for division. These fish were caught by the young men's (*tangaaga*) fishing group or by the fishing group of older men (pp. 67, 281). The old men divided these fish among the people of the island. If the *tangaaga* men caught 30 *kakai*, the old men kept 10 for themselves, gave the chief special cuts from the body of the fish, and divided the rest equally among the people.

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226 Certain habits are characteristic of all fishermen. In reef angling, beach angling, and submerged reef fishing, the fishing basket is held between the legs. The mouth of the basket is invariably tied with coconut fibers to prevent loss of the fish, if by chance the basket upsets or falls into the water. In reef angling, where the fisherman moves about, he often ties the basket to his belt or suspends it from the shoulders. In beach angling, especially for *kaloma* fish, the fisherman sits on a coconut husk, a coconut midrib, or a stone. When he is fishing for *kaloma* and the fish are biting fast, he throws the catch down on the sand beside him. It is important not to waste time under these conditions, because the fish are soon satiated with the chum (*katikati*) thrown to them. But when fishing for *kaloma* to be